3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.462-A] Teklum

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

682 562 *Who Kills and Why*

The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neighbors are usually the executors. For this reason, [608] most people try to neutralize the hostility of

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 683 621 688 682 593 607 602 476 428 682 627 593

their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 464-B] Teklum

682
539
783

Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682
156
828

A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'ux yo'tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben toyal yo'tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma i'pasa ta kuenta*, who "abuses people," *me yo ussi*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may [illegible] within his house or limit his range of acti[illegible] to a very circumscribed area, always taking [illegible] weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

• [608]
[756]

[273]

682
[578]

These 31 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

682
626

682
178
121
626

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

601

Nial	son-in-law
Kalib	daughter-in-law
Nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
Kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
Nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
Kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

601
576 The word *tatik* (from *tat*, 'father') is usually applied as a courtesy name to all married males, without distinction of clan or lineage. The same applies to *metik* (from *me*, 'mother'), a term applied to all married females. *Mamtik* (from *mam*, 'grandfather') is the name given to old and also to very respected people.

601
608 The ritual kinship terminology is:

Tzeltal	*English*
Kumpare	compadre (GodFa of ego's children)
Kumale	comadre (GodMo of ego's children)
Jalatat	godfather
Jalamé	godmother
Jala-al	a woman's godson
Jala-nichan	a man's godson

594 *Family Groups*

The nuclear family, formed by a couple and their children, is the basic pattern throughout the region.
[P. 216-B]

584 with the family of the girl. If the boy is accepted, the gifts are received and the marriage takes place.

585 184 [197] In Aguacatenango and Amatenango, the Catholic ceremony is sometimes delayed for several years after the informal marriage, because of the belief that the latter really consolidated the union. On the other hand, in places where the Ladino population is larger (Pinola and San Bartolo) the religious ceremony is considered by the Indians as a very important part of the customs.

184 177 608 The compadrazgo relationship is stressed among these communities where Ladinos have great influence. There are baptism, confirmation, and wedding padrinos. The rights and duties established through this relationship are still respected, especially 608 the compadre relationship. It is the duty of the child's parents to give occasional gifts [736] to the godparents. If the child's parents die, the godparents must take care of him, except when there are closer relatives to the father.

585 608 It is the main duty of the wedding godparents to help the couple maintain a good understanding and to dissolve, by advice, any disagreement. They always receive great respect and affection from their *ahijados*.

608 [851] Among conservative groups, the compadrazgo relationship arises only from the baptism of a child. Sometimes this relationship is established in a very informal way; perhaps during fiesta at the ceremonial center they may take advantage of the priest's presence to ask a very close friend to "embrace" the child. The padrino is then invited 574 608 to have aguardiente. At other times the arrangement is made formally; the parents of the child go to the house of their future [431] compadres to ask them that favor. Exchanges of gifts and dinner invitations are frequent, the child's parents feeling the greater obligation. These meals can be really banquets where many "platillos" and much aguardiente are consumed. Among 184 608 some groups, padrinos neither give a gift to

43 736 [P. 219-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

407

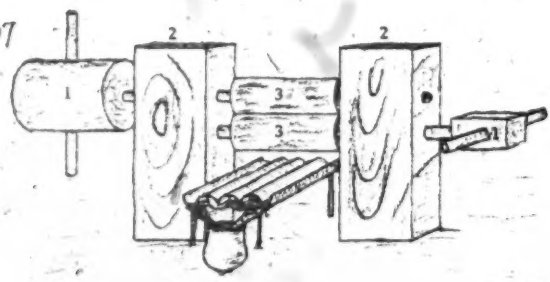


FIG. 6—SUGARCANE PRESS.
1, Kabal-té. 2, Smete-al. 3, S-kab.

184
608 their godchild nor protect him if he be-
736 comes orphaned, but this is only because
431 closer members of the same lineage take
608 care of him. But the padrinos must attend
764 the wake (*kanka-almail*) and the burial
when the godchild dies, as is expected from
the godchild when the godparents die. In
608 these communities, compadrazgo consti-
182 tutes both an important religious obligation
and a means of establishing friendship and
cooperation between families.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

621 The political and religious patern is the
631 same throughout all the Tzeltal communi-
[184] ties, governed by two groups of authorities
whose activities are interrelated. The first
group, formed by members of the cabildo
and ayuntamiento, manages political affairs
of the community. The ayuntamiento main-
tains relationship between the local gov-
631 ernment and the national authorities. The
presidente municipal and the intermediate
authorities are popularly elected and then
confirmed by the congress of the state.
[563] These authorities must represent both eth-
nic groups (Indians and Ladinos) to war-
rant the claim that "justice is equal for
everybody." In 1936 the state government
ruled that in all municipios where the in-
digenous population predominates, the pre-
sidente municipal should be an Indian.

Next in authority after the presidente is

[P.219-B]

844 cloves, and corncake, to keep her "warm
[757] and fertile." The placenta can be burned,
[842] thrown to the dogs, or deeply buried in case
the mother does not want another preg-
[789] nancy soon. The umbilical cord is put under
a three-stone fireplace if the baby is a girl,
on top of a tree if it is a boy so that he may
become brave and agile when adult.

846 A few hours after childbirth, at the latest
515 the next day, both mother and child take a
temascal (steam bath). Some women stay
in the temascal until they feel completely
recovered.

Childhood and Adolescence

789 During the first weeks of life, children are
774 in danger of losing their souls because their
inexperience makes them an easy prey to
the naguales and bad spirits who wander
around. As protection, mothers place a small
[237] piece of beeswax at the back of the child's
head or tie, as a bracelet, a red or blue
thread around the wrist. If none of these
precautions are taken, the mother has to
cover with branches the paths her child
walks, so that his soul can easily find its way
in case he loses it.

789 Because of all these dangers, fathers al-
852 ways try to perform the ceremony of "seed
774 the soul of the child" as soon as possible. It
[553] is during this ceremony that the child is
given a name, later confirmed according to
• [608] Catholic ritual at the ceremonial center. A
very important aspect of the ceremony is
selection of the godparents.

753 *Sickness and Death*

776 Most sicknesses come from infection or
[888] malnutrition. To the natives, however, ill-
nesses have a supernatural cause and are
ascribed either to the anger of gods and
spirits or to old people who have a nagual
or who can throw a spell. The most frequent
explanation is that naguales or supernatural
beings are acting against people. They can
adopt human or animal form or appear as

[P 224-A]

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HMAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	Ø	Ø
-KUMRE	F	Ø	Ø
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	Ø	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	Ø	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	Ø	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	Ø	+1

person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 608 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as follows:

608
601

	/ ... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

608
851
1194
602

Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

585
608
601
602

The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 608 601 602 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown. When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS~IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

591 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

571
192

(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

571
192
601
[551]
[608]

These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a coordinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

term derived from compadres; and bersinatak, meaning the neighbors, is derived from *vecinos*. When informants are asked to summarize who participates in rituals, these three groups are always mentioned. They are not exclusive groupings; neighbors or siblings may be chosen as compadres, in which case the reference and vocative terms for compadres are preferred to any previous terminology. Activation of any of these ties depends on choice and convenience. Proximity of residence is of greater importance in day-to-day exchanges of assistance or visiting than closeness of genealogical tie. Interaction rates have been quantified in an earlier study of the community (J. Nash 1960; 1964).

Another way of referring to the yermanotak is with the plural form of the Indian patronym. Members of the Shunton family would, for example, be called the Shuntonetik. Several Indian surnames are linked to a Spanish patronym. For example, the Shunton, along with Lin, Mai, and Wolto? are linked to the name Lopez. In other Tzeltal and Tzotzil-speaking communities, these Indian surname groups have a greater cohesiveness, and in the recent past held corporate lands which they worked in common, as in Larraínzar (Holland 1963), Oxchuk (Villa Rojas 1947, Siverts 1960) and San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961). In these towns, the Spanish patronym designated a clan marked by exogamy and responsibility of the elders for maintaining social control. In Tzo?ontahal, the tie of descent has given way to an emphasis on collateral links. Exogamy of the Indian name group is the only surviving function of the lineage, and when this has been violated, there are only minor repercussions.

While the Spanish-derived collective terms are restricted to domestic groupings, the Tzeltal collective term for elders, me?iltatil, refers to the three central groups responsible for social control in the community. Derived from the terms for mother, *me?*, and father, *tat*, it is metaphorically extended to include the sponsors in household ceremonies, the curers acting as guardians of their side of the dual division, and the civil officials. Each of the groups is vested with a different level of authority in the community. This is summarized briefly below.

1. Household sponsors: The Spanish institution of ritual godparenthood has been fused with the indigenous system of sponsorship by me?iltatil. When a child is baptized, his god-parents are included as

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 members of the me?iltatil along with relatives and sometimes neighbors. They are his sponsors at subsequent life crises—rituals of betrothal, marriage, and death. All of these people become co-parents to each other and to the child's parents. This relationship lasts throughout his and their lifetime. If the marriage bond is threatened, the me?iltatil gather to hear the complaints and try to resolve the problems. When a person dies, his me?iltatil go to his wake to watch over his spirit. He in turn is expected to help in the household of his me?iltatil when they have a ceremony by bringing wood or serving food and drink to guests.

624 561 2. Civil officials: The civil officials as a group may also be called the me?iltatil; the term has special reference to the judges who represent the ancestors in their judgment of wrongdoers. In their passage through office from lower to higher positions, they are ranked in age-graded sets of junior officials (policemen), senior officials (regidores), and elder officials (judges), with the highest respect in ceremonial occasions accorded to the principales, two men, one from each side of the dual division, selected from those who have served in all offices. Drinking order, marching order, and seating order reflect the age-ordered rank in all ceremonial occasions.

[192] The link between the me?iltatil of the household and the me?iltatil of the civil authority is provided by a group of officials called the *naka-wanehetik*. These men are chosen from among bilaterally related relatives, ritual co-parents, and neighbors who have served in office in the church or the town hall and know the prayers. They direct ceremonies in the house at times of baptism, betrothal, death, and when the household head enters a community office. They are the ones who know how the ancestors did things and "watch and see" that all is done in accord with custom. They instruct the new official in the prayers he must memorize. Their wives direct the preparation of food by the younger women, and one of them may serve as chief woman speaker greeting guests.

571 621 602 794 608 [574]

621 756 561 3. Curers: Curers are similarly ranked according to age and years in practice. The elder curer on each side of the dual division is charged with guarding his side against the intrusion of evil spirits in the form of his own animal spirit. It is in this function of guardianship that the curers are referred to as me?iltatil.

?: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 5

Rituals of Life Crisis

571 608 602 The ceremonial occasions marking baptism, betrothal, and death define the network of bilateral relatives, neighbors, and compadres who will guide and help a person throughout his life. These people make up the group called me?iltatil. The constitute a corporate group, but one which is tied to a single transaction. The sense of corporate identity is strengthened by the same group being called upon to act in subsequent household celebrations. But for each set of me?iltatil there is almost always a different membership since the participants are selected for a particular event. The behavior during these ceremonials is marked by formality and replication of a limited number of ceremonial acts. Through this replication, the rituals dramatize continuity with the past and foster a sense of changelessness. [192] The symbolic act establishing the bond is the embrace, called *sme?ispetb'ak*. Within the ritual setting, the child learns whom he can turn to for help and what he is expected to do in his home and community.

Baptism

852 794 After a month of seclusion when the child is hidden from public view, the soul is expected to have found its place in the child's body. A ceremony called [192] *ki'n ha?* (water ceremony) then takes place with the mother and grandmother in attendance. The three enter the sweatbath, and the mother and child are bathed in hot water and then cold.

If the child cries frequently, it is suspected that his soul is still not firmly lodged and has been wandering in the streets where it encounters animal spirits that frighten him. This requires a soul-calling ceremony performed

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

in the house in which he lives. The midwife, the only person present besides the mother, performs the ritual. She puts cold water in the child's mouth and then goes to the door, saying, "Enter if you arrive, little boy [or little girl]." Then she brushes the child with pine branches dipped in springwater, and smokes with incense of pitch pine the clothing which is then put on the child. The incense "makes a path for the soul to find the body of the child." As she does this, she says, "May your heart be one now that you are in the house." This ceremony is always performed when the child is born outside his parents' residence is order to guide his soul to its proper locale. Three days later, a ceremony called *sti? mut* (eat the chicken) takes place. Only women attend this meal. In one case I observed, the child's mother, her three sisters, mother, and husband's cousin attended. Each woman brings a peso's worth of bread, some chocolate, and ten tortillas. Two hens are cooked in boiling water, and the food is eaten by the women.

Baptism, called "throw the water" (*?iʔ ha?*) occurs as soon as possible after the new-born child's twentieth day of life. If the parents of the child live with either the mother's or the father's family, the grandparents will choose the godparent, or *padrino*. The actual decisions recorded for four families in Table 20 can be compared with statements of preference as to who should be godparents. People say they prefer nonrelatives ("We are not deceived by them"), people of the same section of the dual division ("We like to greet them in the street") and finally people of good reputation. The individual or couple chosen as godparent becomes *compadre* or co-parent to the parents of the child.

People seem to be successful in realizing the preferences they state. 81 percent of compadres are chosen from their own side of the dual division, and only 4 percent are chosen from out of town. 71 percent of compadres are chosen from among nonrelatives. A significant factor in the choice of compadres is maintaining good neighbor relations. Most families surround themselves with a ring of compadres which neutralizes both the fear of being the object of witchcraft and of being accused of witchcraft. Factors of wealth, prestige, and status positions—particularly that of fiscal—are also taken into consideration in choosing a compadre. Most of the padrinos of baptism are chosen from among older members of the community,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man. C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.

C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

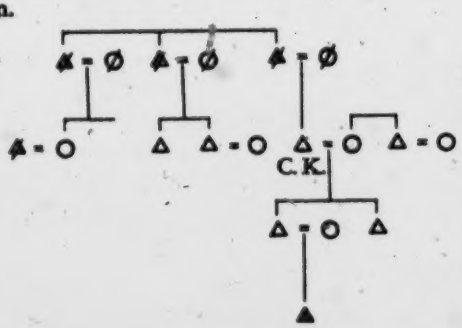
TABLE 20. Relationship of Individual to Compadres

Informant's family status	Occasion	Residence of compadre: Same section	Opposite section	Other barrio	Neighboring town	Total	Relationship: Relative	Non-relative	Total
65-year-old man, wife, 5 grown children	Baptism of godchild	13	5			18		18	18
	Wedding	31				31	12	19	31
	Baptism of own child	3			2	5		5	5
	Total	47	5		2	54	12	42	54
42-year-old man, wife, adopted daughter	Baptism of godchild	12	1			13	2	11	13
	Wedding	13	3	5		21	6	15	21
	Confirmation		2			2		2	2
	Blessing of loudspeaker	2			2	4		2	2
	Total	27	6	5	2	40	8	30	38
35-year-old man, wife, 5 children	Baptism of godchild	7				7	4	3	7
	Baptism of own child	4			1	5		5	5
	Wedding	4				4		4	4
	House saint	2				2	1	1	2
	Total	17			1	18	5	13	18
34-year-old widow	Baptism of godchild	17	1	1		19	15	4	19
	Wedding	7	3			10	2	8	10
	House saint	2	1		1	4	1	3	4
	Confirmation	1				1	1		1
	Total	27	5	1	1	34	19	15	34
	TOTAL	118	16	6	6	146	44	100	144

Tz Naab E-6 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzaital NV9 Amatenango del Valle
[P.119]
585 S61 L61 T58 L39 606 9

608 571 607 852 [601]

section. Attending this house fiesta was the group of relatives represented in the diagram.



The relatives assembled are essentially the same as those who attended the birth of C. K.'s first child. They are the core of the me?iltatil for his family, a core which expands to include additional compadres and neighbors for special house rituals. The second and third grandchildren had as padrino a man from the opposite section.

In summary, C. K. has chosen four Indian compadres and two Ladino compadres for the baptisms of his own children. Other members of the me?iltatil who became compadres on these occasions include five men and three women who are bilateral and affinal relatives.

608 852 571 C. K. has been asked to be padrino of baptism by four persons:

1. A neighbor asked him to be padrino of his child. At a small fiesta, he became compadre of the father and godfather of the child.

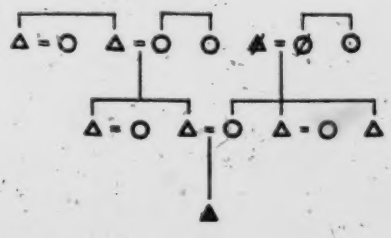
2. A man from the opposite section asked him to be padrino of his son's child, and he acquired the group of compadres shown in the diagram.

[601]

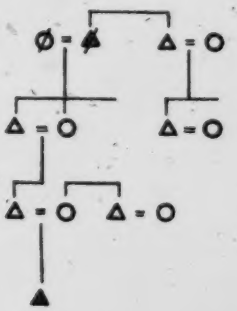
7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608 •
571
852
601

3. A man of the same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 6 compadres and 7 comadres.



4. A man of same section asked him to be padrino, and he acquired 5 compadres and 5 comadres.

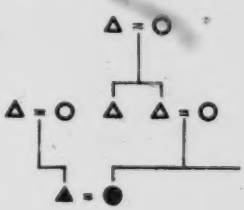


608
571
585

He has been asked to be padrino of marriage ceremonies, also by four parties. The darkneed symbols represent the individuals married.

1. A man of the same section.

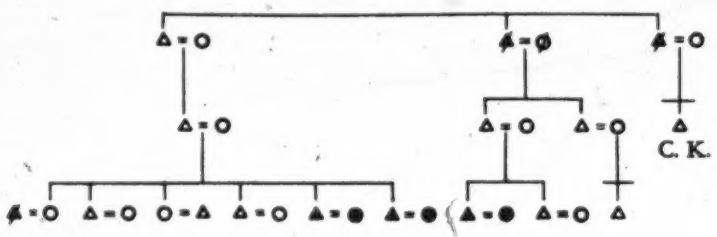
[601]



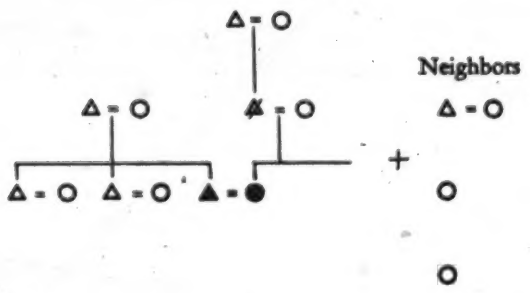
7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

608
571
585
601

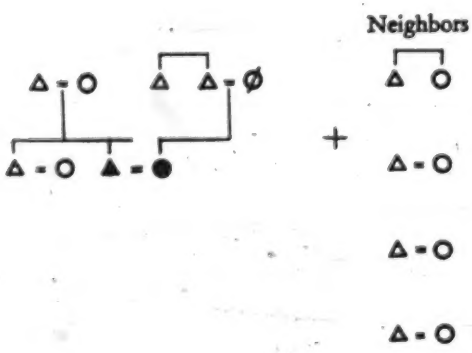
2. The sons of his brother's son.



3. A neighbor's son.



4. A man of the same section.



7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

In becoming a padrino of baptism and marriage, C. K. has acquired 33 compadres, 31 comadres, 4 godchildren of baptism, and 7 godchildren of marriage, 4 of which are his nephews. Adding to the 6 compadres of baptism for his own children, he has 39 compadres and 37 comadres, a total of 76. Most people by the time they have reached 60 have acquired well over 50 compadres.

The relationship between compadres is one of respect, and the referential and vocative terms, *kumpare* and *kumare*, or compadre and comrade in Spanish, take precedence over any other relationship term. The godchild is expected to bring a load of wood to his padrino's house when the latter has a household ceremonial, and when the godchild is old enough, he will serve as b'alnial, or assistant. All the people who attend the household ceremony following the church baptism become compadres and constitute the kumparetak. Compadres attend each other's household ceremonials, acting as nakawanehetik (attendants who are present at all household ceremonials) or b'alnialetik. Compadrazgo is patterned on a pre-Conquest institution establishing ties between attendants in household rituals called maliwanehetik.

The relationship of protection and guidance that is to characterize the tie between co-parents, godchildren and their godparents for the rest of their lives is symbolized in the behavior formally prescribed in the baptism ceremony. On the day of baptism, the child is dressed in clothing given by his godparents. The parents and grandparents of the child go together with the godparent to the church. While the child is being baptized by the priest, he is held by his godfather if he is a boy, or by her godmother if a girl. The priest throws water and salt on the child and prays over him, baptizing him in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After the ceremony the participants embrace the child and each other in front of the church, symbolizing the status they now occupy in respect to the child, his grandparents, and parents. Without this performance, the ritual terms of comadre, compadre, or padrino cannot be used.[1]

1. This behavioral definition of the ritual kinship tie in the sme?ispetb'ak is illustrated in the following incident: The wife of a man who had been asked to be a child's godparent was absent when the priest arrived for the ceremony. Her husband went to the church with the parents and grandparents of the child and embraced them at the church steps. Although

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat?o?tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

[273] [593] [603] [778]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo?ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

796 179 584 585 The Indians of Tzo?ontahal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

[852] [571] [608] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo?ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tual practices and are carried on in the home. Sometimes a church and/or civil marriage is held in addition, but the union is not consumated until the traditional home marriage has taken place.

The betrothal, or *č'om*, is an extended series of negotiations in which the boy's representatives plead with the girl's family to accept the suit. Anytime in a boy's late teens or early twenties, he may initiate the suit by speaking to his father, or the father may undertake to find a wife for his son. The parents of the boy then request an older woman who has some skill in speaking the formal speeches to serve as the me? *Č'om*, mother of the betrothal, and an older man to serve as the *statal č'om*, or leader of the betrothal (sometimes he is called mam č'om or grandfather of the betrothal). These intermediaries may or may not be related to the family initiating the request. Nonkin are usually chosen from among compadres or a neighborhood group. When the father requests that they act as intermediaries, he brings a gift of liquor, chocolate, and bread.

Before any negotiations are begun with the girl's family, the boy's family calls together the representatives. These include his grandparents, uncles, and aunts, his padrino of baptism and confirmation, and possibly neighbors or nearby compadres of his parents. The gathering then questions the boy to learn whether his interest in the girl is sincere and exclusive of any other infatuation. In this session, called the *?iʼ yo?tan* or "taking of the heart," the boy goes to each of his representatives and kneels before them as they question him, asking him if he wants that girl and only that girl. He is told that marriage is an important relationship, not to be treated "as a toy"; the boy should be interested in only this girl, and if he should cause them to have to go to the cabildo "the day after tomorrow," it would cause embarrassment to the entire company.

At the final gathering, called the *?iʼ rason* or "taking of the understanding," the assembled me?iltatil of both the boy and the girl give the couple further advice. The boy is told what is expected of him in the marriage. It is a minimal statement: he should not leave her tomorrow, he should not beat her, he should bring home corn and beans, and all will be well. The girl is told that she should prepare her husband's meals and be waiting for him in the house when he comes home from work. Respect, called "hearing" and "feeling" (both combined in the verb *ʔawayi*), is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

584 431 there is an increase with each trip. Except for the transfer of money in the last trip, the gift is completely in consumables—chickens, bread, liquor, chocolate, and sugar. With many of the older men becoming teetotalers, soda has become an established part of the gift exchange as well. Two elements of the gift exchange are stable in all marriages—the four chickens each cooked and wrapped in fifteen tortillas with a chile placed inside, and the chocolate. In a traditional exchange system, the quantities of some items of exchange are fixed while those of other items fluctuate; gifts of bread, liquor, and money, for example, are of varying quantity in Tzoʔontahal. The fixed quantities of chicken, chocolate, and tortillas establish conformity to community standards while the fluctuating ones indicate the relative prestige of the family.

Table 21. Relation of Members of Betrothal Party to Gifts

584 431 608 571

Member of the betrothal party	*Time of participation*	*Function*
Mother of the betrothal (Meʔ Čʼom)	Initiates action	At first, carries the gift of bread, chocolate, and brown sugar. Burden lightens as others take over these gifts, so that at end she carries only corn gruel and one large piece of bread
Elder of the betrothal (Mam Čʼom)	On fourth visit, accompanies mother of the betrothal	Carries liquor until Measurer of liquor takes over, then carries only sweetened liquor served to women
Measurer of liquor (Pʼ is haʔ)	About seventh visit, accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal when suit is accepted	Carries white liquor served to men and that given as gift
Basket carrier (La smoč, usually wife of Pʼis haʔ)	Accompanies mother and elder of the betrothal and Measurer of liquor when suit is accepted	Carries bread throughout final visits before "taking of the understanding"
Carrier of brown sugar (Čʼup ʔaskah)	On last visit before "taking of the understanding," accompanies mother, elder, measurer, and basket carrier	Carries sweet liquor and soda for last visit and for "taking of the understanding"

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the č'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage.

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the č'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations:

Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not.

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism, compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the community. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recognizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms. They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of behaving. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level. These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The sense of continuity
with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

182 608 571 196

Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

763 764 795 [593]

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

764

764 431

Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the pat?o?tan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

71 Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

761 might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to
627 recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve him-
753 self of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

764 A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers as-
775 sures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies, [593] he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child [603] is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they [763] are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be [593] buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but [608] if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or [604] uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."

764 The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as
554 those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who
626
593

Sometimes a colicky baby may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize her marital plight to the in-laws.

The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Etiquette of role interaction. The complex system of stereotyped behavior contained in codes of etiquette depends upon role relations. The primary rule of etiquette is to greet people appropriately. In street greetings, one demonstrates that one knows how to "take into account," or show respect to, elders and minors. To elders of the first ascending generation or above, one says, "Good morning, father (or mother)." Those of one's own generation are greeted as elder brother or sister, or younger brother or sister, depending on their relative age. If the encounter is with a compadre, the terms kumpare or kumare take precedence over any other relation. A respected curer is addressed as *tatinal*. Officials are greeted by their titles, preceded by *mam* if they are older. Such greetings are restricted to people who live in the same division of the village. When one enters the other division, it is necessary to greet only compadres or relatives who have passed over after marriage. When younger persons approach elders of prestige, they remove their hats and incline their heads to be touched.

Service of food and drink is strictly ordered by age and sex. At mealtime, small children are fed separately, before or after their elders depending on the child's needs. When they reach the age of reason, about twelve, they are expected to await their turn. The father is served first, followed by his sons in order of age. The mother eats later with the girls.

The etiquette of ceremonial behavior is an extension and elaboration of the everyday forms. Service and greetings are made in order of age and rank, a procedure simplified by the fact that seating arrangements are made in the same order. In house ceremonials, the eldest man sits facing inward, to the right of the door. The rest of the company sits in clockwise order from eldest to youngest on benches lining the porch. Within the house, the seating of women by age begins with the eldest woman sitting at the center post and others sitting in clockwise order.

Preferred modes of behavior in all settings for all roles are "slowness and softness, expressed by a single term, *k'unk'untik*. Deference and respect—"hearing and feeling," *ʔawai*—should be shown in all encounters, marked by behavior such as downcast eyes, shawl held over the mouth, avoidance of direct eye contact, as well as verbal signs of agreement and

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

827
787 claim, has been lost, as has been more recently that of speaking with the ancestors. But the curers can still enter into communication with the spirit world and in this lies their power.

461
183 Industry is valued along with competency. A man is described as industrious with the words, "he carries much wood well," and a woman with the words, "she carries much sand well." These expressions are a kind of
[196] synechdoche for general industriousness, since the tasks serve as the measure of willingness to perform one's sexually defined roles.

[474]
[602] Judgments made in the choice of working "partners" in the exchange
[608] labor system are based on competence in working as well as on considerations of kin and compadrazgo relationship. Women make judgments of
[323] others' skill in pottery-making on the basis of both the appearance of the pot and its durability proved in use and transportation without breakage to market. Both men and women known to be hard workers are admired
[754] and envied. They may consequently become the objects of witchcraft.

828
157 Conceptions of personality are one end product of evaluations of performances and condition people's expectations of individuals in their social environment. For the Indians, personality traits tend to imply other traits.
125
157 In order to derive a sense of these implications for Tzo?ontahal, I drew up
828 a checklist to identify some of these associations. Informants were asked to state whether each of the traits listed on the top line in Table 30 was correlated positively, negatively, or not at all with each of the same traits listed vertically. A plus (+) sign indicates positive correlation, a minus (—) sign indicates negative correlation, and an equal (=) sign indicates that
157 there was no correlation. Thus being bright is positively correlated with
828 being beautiful and negatively correlated with being evil, fearful, lazy, foolish, gullible, braggardly, gossipy, and miserly. There is no connection between being bright and being of good heart, aggressive, or honorable. This suggests that the heart and the mind are independent loci for a set of traits that stem from them. Metaphors such as bitter, acid, and straight, when used to describe personality, are similar in connotation to those used in English. As in English, immediate sensory experiences of taste and vision provide by extension a means of talking about character.

157
551 In studying these personality traits, I sensed that "being" was "doing" things in certain repetitive ways. This impression is corroborated by the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

programs in the interest of "civilizing" the Indians. This formulation involved a basic contradiction between the goal of moving into regional and national networks and that of keeping the old autonomy and independence of the corporate community. He never had to face that contradiction. Unable to gain adherents other than the small group of profit-sharers in the cooperative he organized, he was killed by opponents within the community.

The Family and Household

The core of the traditional culture lay in the local power hierarchies patterned on the familial model of age-ordered paternal authority institutionalized in the me?iltatil. The me?iltatil of the household have provided a flexible institution for adjusting conflict within the kin group. Their role in directing ritual performances preserves a sense of continuity in life cycle changes.

The institutionalized authority of the elders has not been upset by the trend toward residence based on nuclear families, which is an adjustment to the pressure of limited space in the town center. Kinship ties are continually reinforced by rituals that draw together the me?iltalil as sponsors of ceremonies marking baptism, marriage, and death. This group of sponsoring relatives has absorbed the institution of compadrazgo, adding compadres to the network of affinally-and bilaterally-related kin. The procedures for adjusting conflict among members of the household and extended family networks reinforce the authority of the elders. When adjustive processes in the house and court "arrangements" and in curing ceremonies fail, the only recourse is for one of the disputants to leave the community or commit homicide.

Ceremonies within the household provide a model for the rules of the game that apply to adjustive behavior in the community. The household officials introduce new officials into their role, teaching them the prayers and directing the proceedings. Their authority depends upon age and prestige acquired in office. The me?iltatil, as the elders of the family, are the direct link with the ancestors. They and the nakawane provide the strongest force for preserving the ways of the ancestors.

M 563 627 647 T 621 743 647 doctors and officers of the National Indian Institute (INI) who arrive to the villages at irregular intervals. In Amatenango, the INI has established a "clinic" in which a native nurse provides some medical services, such as vaccinations, the selling of aspirin, etc., while in Aguacatenango the native INI nurse provides services in his home.

T 621 647 474 In both the villages the INI has established a cooperative store which sells staples which are not produced in the community, but such stores are in no sense agents of cultural change, selling only commodities which the Indians habitually buy elsewhere. (A reason for the lack of success of such stores is that the Indians have not understood the "cooperative" principle, very few men have joined, and they are disillusioned with the marginal profit obtained through them.) In 1958, Amatenango had water piped into the village, a project completed by the INI in 1957; T 621 647 312 114 while after the author left Aguacatenango in 1958, water pipes were installed there.

M 563 692 Political relations with the Ladinos of a more formal nature occur through the courts of justice and national government offices, and they are characterized by the covert (and at times open) hostility and misunderstanding on the part of both Indians and Ladinos (see D. Metzger, 1956 and Fuente, Julio de la, 1958).

T 628 438 571 •608 582 Relations with other Indian villages are common both for Amatenango and Aguacatenango. They trade with the communities located in different ecological zones the products that do not grow in their territory (ocote from the highlands, sugar cane from the lowlands, etc.) in exchange for their own products and they

628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
571 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
• 608 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
582 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
628 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
166 of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.
602

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[311] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
[312] source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
776 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

628 into mild forest beasts, the peace made with the "kings of Guate-
7776 mala" and the opening of trade with Comitán. He is also in both communities a powerful nahual (supernatural being controlled by the witches or a witch himself), and in Amatenango everyone prays to him on the day of the Santa Cruz (May 3). Both communities agree that he was "an Amatenanguero, born somewhere in the direction of Chiapa de Corzo." There are no compadre relations established between the two villages, but two cases of intermarriage [608] [582] and two of posada relations have been reported (Verbitsky, 1959a).

Both towns criticize the other for its "costumbres," criticisms which are related directly, as will be shown later, to some differences in social structure which will be discussed in this work. Amatenango women criticize Aguacatenango women as being lazy but mistreated by their husbands who make them gather their own firewood, and because they run away from their husbands seeking work in San Cristobal. Aguacatenango men criticize Amatenangueros for being lazy and not seeking work in the fincas, preferring to hunt rats in the cornfields, and their women for being dirty and authoritarian.

156
621
571
[426]
[755]
[476]
[431]
[608]

getting involved in the fight. He can help relatives in distress pay a debt or give a curing ceremony for a sick child. He can be a "hard worker, ready to offer a hand to a neighbor in need of extra labor" (hel-K'abal). He can send his wife with small presents of food to other households. He can make many compadres among those whom he suspects of possibly being against him, thereby assuring their friendship and respect. In sum, he can create around himself a long chain of loyal villagers who are bound to him by many different obligations. Then, because he is a 'leKil winiK' (one that behaves well with the people), he can "afford" to become rich by local standards without the immediate fear of punishment.

Every household head manipulates his environment in these terms. People try to accumulate riches and protect their paths in other ways. They also try to avoid distributing their accumulated wealth outside their household and to prevent the envy or gossip of those not so bound by loyalty, by hiding from others the knowledge of their possessions.

The result of the contradiction between the egalitarian values on the one hand, and the individual aspirations and behavior on the other, is expressed in gossip, "witchcraft talk" and a constant realignment of loyalties among villagers. Every man suspects another of being better off than one is led to believe, while at the same time he himself tries to keep others from suspecting him, and would not voluntarily give information on how many horses he owns or how much corn he has grown.

The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is

activities. Following this, he then serves as *tatil* of any saint of minor rank, then as *tatil* of San Pedro Martyr or San Francisco, followed by a turn as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Virgin Santa Lucia, and finally as *tatil* of the *kobraria* Sacramento.

The Tzeltal role terms in both the civil and religious hierarchies reveal the preconquest age-ranking system. This is evident in the use of elder and junior

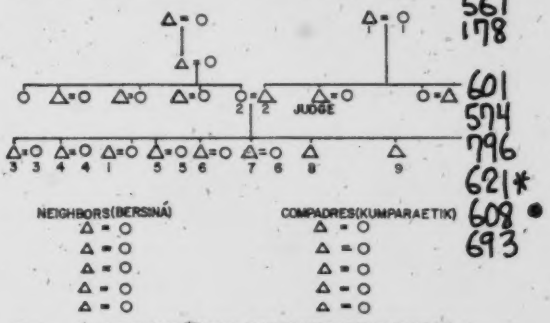


CHART 3 — ASSISTANTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN HOUSE FIESTA OF JUDGE (ELICITED)

Circles indicate women; triangles indicate men. For role term applying to number, see Chart 4.

titles for mayordomos (*tatil* and *nič' anil martoma*) and in the use of *mas mamališ* (more senior) for higher rank offices.

The informant's understanding of the hierarchy is that of a core of officeholders in three ranked segments (Chart 2). This is coded in the group terms for officials. Roles peripheral to the major categories such as those of rural judges, fiscal and women prayermakers, are elicited only with repeated questioning or with reference to some event in which they function. These roles differ from those mentioned first in that they are either of little significance to the individual informant (this would explain the consistent omission of the rural judge by the people of the center) or are not part of the required posts incumbent upon every male household head to undertake (this might explain the omission of the president, síndico, principales and fiscales in the first eliciting session). Structural principles made explicit by the informants are (1) hierarchical rank, (2) progression from lower to higher posts, and (3) territorial balance in representation of the dual division. An implicit corollary of passage through offices beginning with lower ranks is the age grading of officeholders. Other structural aspects emerged in the description of behavior, described below.

[P 215-B]

as a team. Thus the junior *(niẽ'anil)* and senior *(tatil)* officials walk and sit in pairs. The senior officials order the junior. Just as in the case of the civil officials, some junior mayordomos may be younger than others who are in lower positions, because they have passed in the lower offices at an earlier age, but all senior mayordomos are older than their paired juniors.

Another important structural feature that became apparent in the behavioral schedules is the household base establishing the officeholders' position in both hierarchies. The new official learns his role obligations from the ***nakawanehetik***, the group of elders

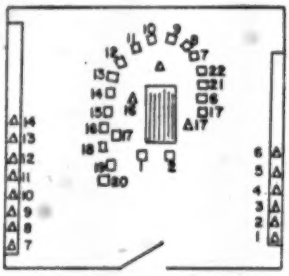


CHART 8 — INSIDE THE TOWNHALL, NEW YEAR'S DAY, TAKING THE OATH (OBSERVED)

Old officials are indicated by triangles, new officials by squares. Numbers refer to list on Chart 7. Three officials—the old secretary (17) and two new rural judges (21 and 22)—were not listed in the elicited session, Chart 7. Canes of office are on the table near the center of the room. Numbers refer to role terms in Chart 7.

who assemble in his house and who will assist him in his period in office. The ceremony in the house establishes this as a significant domain in public affairs. Relatives, neighbors, and compadres make up the interlocking network of supporters in the setting of the household. Both husband's and wife's relatives are symmetrically represented (Chart 3; see also J. Nash, 1964b, report on alferez assistants). Because of the expenses and the commitment of time during the period of office, the officials must have this backing to fulfill their obligations. A man with many compadres and godchildren has a firmer base to support his career in office. In the case of the new president, this was mentioned as an important asset by the president's brother. The guest list (Charts 3, 4) reveals the multiple references which establish the individual's role during any event.

[P. 220-A]

"Why don't you call in the civil guard?" 124

They will say we are women, that we are afraid. My brother wants to, however. 578 682

He communicated several things in this deviation from the eliciting schedule:

Many assassinations are committed regularly in Tzo?ontahal.
They usually occur at fiestas.
The only recourse is to kill one's enemy.
I am a killer, therefore I am prepared to protect myself.
Everyone knows I am a killer.
When I killed, it wasn't a murder but an execution.

796 794 608 554

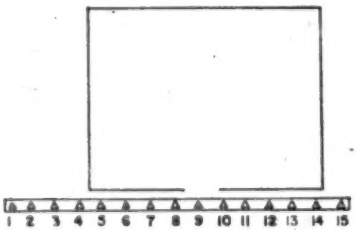


CHART 13 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF THE VIRGIN SANTA LUCIA, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

OFFICIALS:

1 Cofrade of Virgin Santa Lucia *(Kobraria Halal Me?tik)*
2 Elder of San Pedro Martyr *(Tatil Yu?un Martil)*
3 Assistant junior for Sacramento *(Ali?bal Niĉ'nal yu?un Sakramentú)*
4 Assistant junior for Virgin Santa Lucia *(Ali?bal Niĉ'nal yu?un Halal Me?tik)*
5 Elder for the Christ of the Ascension *(Tatil yu?un Tatik Sanpranxiskú)*
6 Elder for San Antonio *(Tatil yu?un Sanantonió)*
7 Elder for Virgin Rosario *(Tatil Halal Me?tik Rosario)*
8 Elder for Santiago *(Tatil yu?un Santiagú)*
9 Elder for San Jose *(Tatil yu?un Sanhosé)*
10 Junior for San Antonio *(Niĉ'nal yu?un Sanantonió)*
11 Junior for Santiago *(Niĉ'nal yu?un Santiagú)*
12 Junior for San Pedro Martyr *(Niĉ'nal yu?un Martil)*
13 Junior for Virgin Rosario *(Niĉ'nal yu?un Me?tik Rosario)*
14 Junior for San Jose *(Niĉ'nal yu?un Sanhosé)*
15 Junior for Christ of the Ascension *(Niĉ'nal yu?un Sanpranxiskú)*

Since the informant expected that there might be an attempt made on his life in the approaching inaugural ceremony, he was advertising his own strength and willingness to defend himself even if it meant killing his enemy. I was an audience for him to try on poses of self-assertion. 124 578 [123]

[p. 225-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

621 *
105
794
178
18
[128]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

796
794
608 •
554
533

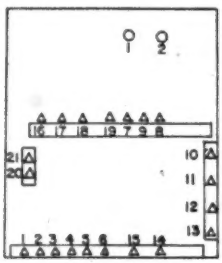


CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentú)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnial Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

621 *
105
794
178
18

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

[p. 227 - A]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

APPENDIX 3A — SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
House, evening of inauguration	*ʔAČ'ATEL*, new officials	Ego	Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane*
	NAKAWANEHETIK, house officials	Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo)	Initiates greetings; sits in head seat
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters	Serve food, measure drinks
	ʔAK'SIETIK, wood gatherers	Neighbors, compadres, brothers	Bring wood, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, Meʔil K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife	Mother, or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings
	SKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers		Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat
House, morning of inauguration	*NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials	Father and/or elder neighbors	Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor
	AʔTELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK, judges, regidores	Men of village	Receive food and liquor
	BALNIALETIK, assistants	Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors	Serve food, measure drink
	YULATAK, visitors	Men from rural colonias	Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink
	MEʔELETIK, women	Mother or elder relative	Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food
	Meʔil k'op	?	
	Sčebal Smeʔ	?	
	Yočebal Smeʔ	?	
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	(See Chart 3)	Cooks food, dishes out food
Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration	*K'AʔAʔTELETIK*, old officials	Men of village	Drink; wait for new officials seated
	ʔALPERESETIK, alfereces	Men of village	Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo°ontahal

APPENDIX 38—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

105
192
554
794

SETTING	ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups)	RELATIONSHIP	BEHAVIOR
[574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration	KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU	Ego	Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door
[604] [605]	NAKAWANEHETIK	Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons	Initiates greetings, sits at head seat
[593] [608]	BALNIALETIK	Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors	Serve liquor, food
[602]	ME?ELETIK, women	Elder female relative	Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers
[608]	Me?ilk'op, woman speaker		
	ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers	Comadres, sisters, neighbors	Prepare food, coffee
	MARTOMAETIK 3 KOBRARIA TATILETIK NIČ'ANILETIK		Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanehetik*
Church, morning of inauguration	PIŠKAL, fiscal KURA, priest ?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos		Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos